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University Extension Lectures

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR THE

EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING



SYLLABUS

OF A

COURSE OF SIX LECTURES

ENTITLED

Between the Two Wars

(1812-1860)

BY

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No. 20

Price, 10 Cents

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ALL ARE REQUESTED TO READ THIS PAGE.

The Class.—At the close of each lecture a class, or conference, will be held. All are urged to remain for it, whether prepared to take an active part or not. On the first evening necessary explanations will be made, and then some subject suggested by the lecture just given will be discussed. Afterwards the subject will always be the lecture of the preceding lecture-evening, with the reading that has been done in connection with it and the papers that have been written. The freest discussion and criticism are invited.

The Papers.—Every student, whether a candidate for examination or not, is earnestly advised to write a paper upon one of the questions that are printed just after the lecture outline. The necessary book or books will always be found on the reference shelves of the local public library, or will be made accessible to all students in some other way. Although it is best to write upon only one of the questions, choosing as difficult a one as circumstances will permit, it is hoped that many persons will find it possible to do the reading for all of them. This is of course the best way of preparing for the class.

The papers should be written *concisely*, and, when convenient, on foolscap paper, on one side of the sheet only, with a margin of two inches on the right of the page. They should have at the head of the first sheet the writer's name and the name of the centre. All papers should reach the lecturer's address at least three days before the following lecture. They will be returned at the next class, with the lecturer's criticisms written on them. Some of them will from time to time be read, in part, as a basis for class discussion, but without mention of the writers' names. Students are invited to add to their papers questions or suggestions concerning topics that may seem to them to require more detailed explanation. N. B.—Papers frequently come to the lecturers insufficiently stamped.

The Examination.—Those students whose papers and attendance upon the class exercises have satisfied the lecturer of the thoroughness of their work will be admitted to the examination at the close of the course. Each person who passes the examination successfully will receive from the society a certificate in testimony thereof. A graded series of such certificates, leading in the end to a diploma, is being arranged.

The Students' Association.—The formation of a Students' Association, for reading and study before and after the lecture course, as well as during its continuance, is strongly urged.

NOTE.

The syllabus should be read with care before the lecture, and again soon after; but during the lecture no attention should be paid to it.

BETWEEN THE TWO WARS.

LECTURE I.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—JAMES MONROE AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

1. **IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF HISTORY.**
2. **Brief Glance at the War of 1812.**—Defeats, capitals burned, weak administration, incompetent leaders in the field, New England's defection, financial depression. But the war was a great success to the Americans. How so? (1) Independence from Europe permanently secured—the young giant discovers his strength. (2) Bond of union at home immeasurably strengthened.
3. **Death of the Federal Party.**—Causes.
4. United States Bank rechartered, 1816. Tariff of 1816. Financial panic of 1818.
5. **Madison Retires.**—His public career.
6. **James Monroe, President.**—His New England tour. "Era of good feeling."
7. **THE SEMINOLE WAR.**—It brought into prominence one remarkable character—**Andrew Jackson.** His ability as a military leader. St. Marks and Pensacola.

NOTE.—The best works on the National Period of American History to the time of the Civil War are the following: EPOCHS IN AMERICAN HISTORY, Vols. II and III; *Schouler's HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES*, 5 vols.; *McMaster's HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES*, 4 vols., out; *Lossing's PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE WAR OF 1812*; *Rhodes' HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE COMPROMISE OF 1850*, 2 vols.

Those desiring a more thorough knowledge of the subject should read the following: *Henry Adams' HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES*, 9 vols.; *Benton's THIRTY YEARS' VIEW*; *Wilson's RISE AND FALL OF THE SLAVE POWER*, 3 vols.; *Greeley's AMERICAN CONFLICT*, first vol.; *Van Holst's CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES*, 9 vols. Biographies of the leading statesmen of the period, and, above all, their speeches found in their respective "works."

Spanish soil. Execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot. Excitement in England. Jackson's enemies. Secret Cabinet meetings. John C. Calhoun. Jackson's strange trial in the House! His triumph. Purchase of Florida, February 22, 1819.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—The greatest question of this period—"one that shook our government to its profoundest depths for two years." Purely a slavery question.

8. **Brief Review of Slavery in America up to this Point.**

—Introduction of African slavery into Virginia. Existed in Central and South America a century before. The slave traffic. English traders. England responsible. Efforts of the colonies to suppress the traffic. Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina and Massachusetts pass laws to restrict the trade. All annulled by the Crown. The "Royal African Company." Queen Anne. The colonies also responsible. South Carolina and Georgia keep anti-slavery sentiments out of the Declaration of Independence. "All men are created equal."

9. **Northern States Emancipate** soon after the Revolution.

Pennsylvania leads in 1780; Virginia *almost* in 1778. A few still in New Jersey in 1840.

10. "**Ordinance of 1787**" prevents slavery north of the Ohio River. Efforts to break the ordinance.

11. South of the Ohio. One man's absence from Congress and its far-reaching results!

12. The slave trade. Smuggling vessels. The Fugitive Slave law of 1793—unchanged for fifty-seven years—"caused more misery and crime than any other legislation in American Annals."

13. **National Prohibition of 1808.**—Many now fondly believed that the artery of slavery itself was cut, and the system would die. But no! Cotton gin. Demand for slaves in the Southwest. Interstate slave trade. Breeding for the market!

The Louisiana Purchase.—Missouri.

14. Slavery or no slavery in the Great West. Missouri applies for statehood with slavery.
15. James Talmadge, the "youth of burning eloquence." John W. Taylor. Question left over till next Congress. Two years of excitement throughout the nation. Great mass meetings.
16. **Sixteenth Congress**, 1819-21, memorable for the Missouri Compromise. Great debates in House and Senate. "You deny a fundamental right," cried the South. "We prohibit a fundamental wrong," answered the North. Leaders for freedom, Taylor and the venerable Rufus King. Leaders against it, Henry Clay, Charles Pinckney, William Pinkney and Lowndes. House and Senate disagree. Maine and Missouri tacked together. Maine's time limit. Joint committee. Compromise line, $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude.
17. Bill passed. Victory for the South. North yielded for two reasons: (1) difficulty of removing the slaves already in Missouri; (2) desire to admit Maine before her time limit expired. Agreement stands till Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854.
18. A few uneventful years. Recognition of the South American Republics, 1822. Monroe Doctrine, 1823.
19. Intrigues in Congress for presidential succession. Who will succeed Monroe? Only one party. Four candidates—Clay, Crawford, Calhoun, Adams. A star rises in the South; five now in the constellation. Soon four again—Calhoun drops out and accepts second place.
20. Election goes to the House—the second time in our history. Clay shut out by Twelfth Amendment. Serious defect in the Constitution. All eyes turn to the "House." Dallying. A white-haired stranger in Washington. Adams chosen. "Corrupt bargain."

21. Duel between Henry Clay and John Randolph. "You owe me a new coat." "I'm glad the debt is no greater."
22. **JAMES MONROE**, the last and least of the great Virginians. His character—patient, deliberate, just—extraordinary self-control—retirement—death. Our third ex-President to die on the Fourth of July.
23. **JOHN QUINCY ADAMS**.—Little to record in his administration—both Houses against him. Adams not popular—wanting in tact, like his father. Severely just and rigidly exacting—had no intimate friend. Personal appearance. His greatest fault self-absorption and distrust of other men. But a noble character—unyielding integrity. Defeat by Jackson in 1828. Scurrilous campaign. Adams's subsequent career in the House. "Old man eloquent." Death in 1848.

Subjects for Class Discussion and Essays.

1. Results of the War of 1812.
2. What characteristic of Jackson is most prominently brought out by the Seminole War?
3. Why did the Northern States emancipate their slaves? Why did the South not do so?
4. Why did the Constitution forbid Congress to prohibit the slave trade before 1808?
5. Had slavery anything to do with the Louisiana Purchase?
6. Was the Missouri Compromise and the debates it brought out of any advantage to the North?
7. What was the condition of the Democratic party in 1824?
8. In what respects was John Quincy Adams a great man?
9. How does he compare with his father as a statesman?

LECTURE II.

TWO GREAT SOUTHRONS—JACKSON AND CALHOUN.

ANDREW JACKSON, First President from the ranks of the people.

1. Jackson's early life—experience in the Revolution. Removal to Tennessee—wild life in Tennessee. He

becomes the first Representative in Congress from Tennessee—enters the Senate—votes against Washington. Resigns—dislike of public life. Quarrelsome nature.

2. **Battle of New Orleans.**—Greatest defeat ever inflicted on a British army. Jackson's sudden fame.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

3. Election—Inauguration. Adams refuses to attend the ceremonies. Why? "Let the boys have a good time once in four years."
4. Three great monuments: (1) Changes in the Civil Service; (2) Crushing Nullification; (3) Destroying the United States Bank.
5. Jackson and the Spoils system. Evils of the system. Removals by his predecessors.
6. The "Eaton Scandal." Peggy O'Neil. The hero of New Orleans defeated by the women.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

7. **Jackson and Calhoun.**—The parallel lines. Remarkable resemblance. Divergence of the two lines. Fast friends for many years. Calhoun's ambition. Their friendship broken—how it came. The Monroe Cabinet—Crawford's letter. Calhoun's ambition blasted. Great change in Calhoun.
8. **Nullification in South Carolina.**—New England and the South exchange places on the tariff. Why? "Tariff of Abominations," 1828. South Carolina's protest. Storm grows more threatening. Jackson's position not known. His speech at Jefferson's birthday banquet—"The Federal Union, It Must Be Preserved"—a bombshell. Madness of the little State. Hayne—the master hand. Convention at Columbia, S. C. Jackson's December proclamation. Clay's Compromise. The Force Bill. South Carolina's miscalculation.

9. Jackson stands for a second term. Why? His **Kitchen Cabinet**. Amos Kendall.

ELECTION OF 1832. Jackson *vs.* Clay.

10. **Anti-Masons.**—William Morgan. First National Convention—first party platform. William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, Thaddeus Stevens.
11. The real contest between Jackson and Clay. Only one great issue, the United States Bank. Review of its history from 1791. Clay's bold stroke and political blunder in forcing re-charter at the time. Jackson vetoes the bank bill. The great trio in the Senate, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, combined against Jackson. His victory over Clay.
12. Jackson determines to crush the bank to death. **Removal of the Deposits.** "The boldest act of any President." Excitement throughout the nation—great mass meetings—petitions with ten thousand names. "Go to the monster, Nick Biddle, he has millions." Financial disturbance. The Senate. Thomas H. Benton. Jackson censured by the Senate. Benton's victory.
13. **Minor Events.**—Imprisonment for debt abolished, 1833. Richard M. Johnson. Deaths of Charles Carroll, the last "Signer," 1832; of James Madison, the last framer of the Constitution, 1836; of John Marshall, our greatest jurist, 1835. Attempt to assassinate Jackson. Black Hawk war. Cholera in New York, 1832. Strained relations with Mexico. Liquidation of the national debt.
14. **Character of Andrew Jackson.**—Jackson as a soldier—as a statesman. His marvelous will-power. Jefferson and Jackson compared. Jackson's grave faults—lawlessness—quarrels—vicious temper. His virtues—a child of nature—too narrow to be fair with an opponent, but honest, patriotic, unselfish. In ability he was a Cæsar, but without Cæsar's selfish ambition.

Subjects for Class Discussion and Essays.

1. How did Jackson justify himself for introducing the Spoils System?
2. Resemblance between Jackson and Calhoun.
3. In what were they opposites?
4. Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet.
5. Thomas H. Benton.
6. Rise and fall of the Anti-Mason party.
7. Why was Jackson so anxious to destroy the United States Bank?
8. What caused the sudden financial panic on the removal of the deposits?
9. Who was William H. Crawford? John Marshall? Richard M. Johnson? Charles Carroll? Nick Biddle? John Randolph?
10. Was Jackson a great man? In what respect?

LECTURE III.

VAN BUREN TO THE MEXICAN WAR.

1. **View of State of Society.**—Thirteen million people in 1830 — how distributed. The boundless West. Changes in the East. Stage-coach days—relics. The typical American—"Yankee"—long, lank, wiry and awkward—keen bargain-driver. Religion, politics, money-making—courtship.
2. **Jackson's Retirement.**—Could have had a third term. Chose his successor. Vice-President elected by the Senate.
3. **Martin Van Buren.**—First free-born President—first politician President—Dutch. "The cleverest political manager in our history." "Non-committal"—His early career—New York State politics—United States Senate—rival of DeWitt Clinton in New York. Governor of New York—Secretary of State—Vice-President. No other man has held so many high national offices. How he reached the Presidency.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION. Remembered for two things. (1) Great Panic of 1837; (2) Sub-Treasury.

4. **Review of the panic of 1837.** Banks and merchants fail. Cause of the panic. Claim of the Whigs. Too

- much paper money—reckless speculation—land sales. Wail of the people. Great meetings. Demands that the President bring relief. Van Buren's bearing firm and statesmanlike.
5. Extra session of Congress. James K. Polk, Speaker. Van Buren's masterly message. The **Sub-Treasury**.
 6. **Minor Events**.—The "Caroline affair." Smithsonian Institute founded. Arkansas and Michigan admitted into the Union. Patent of the Telegraph. Indian wars.
 7. **Campaign of 1840**.—Most remarkable in our history. Steady gain of the Whigs. **The Whig Convention**. Who will be their candidate? Objections to the great leader, **Clay**. "I would rather be right than be President." **General Scott**. **William Henry Harrison**—points in his favor. Nominated. John Tyler weeps. "**Old Tippecanoe**." Why not "Old Tecumseh?"
 8. **The Campaign**.—Whoop and hurrah! Frenzy of the people. Crowds measured by the acre. Origin of "Log Cabin and Hard Cider." The songs the most potent factor. Horace Greeley. Samples of the campaign songs. Where were the Democrats? "The country was like an ocean convulsed with a terrible storm." Result. Delirious joy of the Whigs.
 9. **Harrison's Inauguration**.—Illness—death. His character.
 10. **JOHN TYLER succeeds**.—Extra session of Congress. Whig's distrustful—not sure of Tyler. Clay and Tyler estranged. The Bank Bill—Tyler vetoes it. "Corporal's guard." "Dictator." Smothered resentment of the Whigs. Tyler vetoes second Bank bill. Storm broke loose. Cabinet resigns. Extraordinary action of the Whigs. Tyler read out of the party.
 11. A President without a party. His attempt to form a new party—fails. Courts Democratic favor, but the Democrats, while accepting his favors, despise the man.

12. Two historical measures in this administration. (1) **Webster-Ashburton Treaty**; (2) **Annexation of Texas**. Webster remained in the cabinet—censured by the Whigs.

TEXAS.

13. Tyler's wish to annex Texas. Why? Webster's retirement—succeeded by Upshur. Explosion of the great gun—Secretaries of State and Navy killed. Calhoun enters Tyler's cabinet—his object.
14. **Story of Texas**.—Mexico emancipates her slaves in 1827. Texas refuses. Declaration of Independence. Sam Houston. San Jacinto. "Remember the Alamo." Annexation slowly ripens. Treaty in 1844—rejected by the Senate! Annexation becomes a potent force in the

CAMPAIGN OF 1844.

15. Tyler's last futile efforts to succeed himself. New party? No. Win the Democrats? No. The Democrats refuse to make a man the leader of their party who has been a traitor to his own. Whig Convention—Clay unanimously. Democratic Convention. Van Buren? Forces against him. Other candidates, Cass, Buchanan, Calhoun. A "dark horse" looms up on ninth ballot. The telegram. "Polk, who is Polk?" Strong Texas-Oregon platform. One man alarmed at Polk and his platform—Henry Clay. Clay on the defensive. His fatal Alabama letter. Birney and the Free Soilers. States vote separately. Clay and Blaine.
16. **Minor Events**.—Tariff of 1842. Dickens' visit in 1842—Washington Irving. Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island. The Creole affair. Joshua R. Giddings. Gag-rule repealed. Tyler's last years.

Subjects for Class Discussion and Essays.

1. Panic of 1837. 2. What elements of strength in Van Buren? 3. Was Harrison a statesman? 4. Why was Tyler

nominated with Harrison? 5. On what ground did he veto the Bank bills? 6. Was Tyler an honest man? 7. The Alabama letter, how did it injure Clay? 8. How do Clay and Blaine compare? 9. What elements of strength in Polk's platform?

LECTURE IV.

THE MEXICAN WAR AND WHAT IT MEANT.

1. **James K. Polk.**—In Congress fourteen years—Speaker of the House—Governor of Tennessee. Strictly religious, narrowly partisan. Buchanan Secretary of State. George Bancroft in the cabinet.
2. First cabinet meeting. "Gentlemen, there are four great measures that must be the measures of my administration: (1) Settlement of the Oregon boundary; (2) Acquisition of California; (3) Reduction of the tariff, and (4) Re-enactment of the Sub-Treasury."
3. **Oregon.**—Boundary disputed. Threatened trouble with England. "Fifty-four forty or fight" not adhered to. No war—England in trouble with her corn laws and the United States had Mexico to look to. Forty-nine.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

4. Immediate cause of the war—disputed territory between the Rio Grande and the Neuces. General Taylor and the "Army of Occupation." Blunder of Polk in restoring exiled Santa Anna. Resaca de la Palma, Palo Alto, Monterey.
5. **Winfield Scott.**—Why was he not sent to Mexico? The President's dilemma. Taylor was a Whig and was becoming too popular—must be headed off. Scott at last sent—not that they loved him more, but Taylor less. Taylor left in a hostile country with a fraction of his army. "General Taylor never surrenders." Buena Vista. Taylor's popularity. Scott

captures Vera Cruz. His great march upon the Mexican capital—greater than Sherman's "From Atlanta to the Sea." *Why did not Scott receive equal honor with Taylor?*

6. **Thirtieth Congress.**—Greatest commotion in Congress since the Missouri Compromise. One great question—Slavery or no slavery in lands to be acquired from Mexico. Wilmot Proviso.
7. **David Wilmot**, of Pennsylvania. Sound reason in the proviso.
8. Result of the Mexican War—vast tract of wilderness added to the United States. Mexico's request. What American is proud of the Mexican War?

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1848.

9. Advantage of the Whigs—their three candidates. Taylor and Scott compared.—"Rough and Ready."—"Fuss and feathers." Taylor's nomination—disapproved by Clay, Webster, Weed and Greeley. Nomination of **General Cass** by the Democrats. Notice of Cass—his urbanity. Hunkers and barnburners in New York. William L. Marcy, John A. Dix, Silas Wright. Cass defeated by Van Buren and the Free Soilers.
10. Polk retires. His character—death.

TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION.

11. The great subject. All eyes on the new President. Discovery of **Gold** in California. Caravans and ships from every clime hastening to the land of gold. The terrible visitor. Great weight of the gold discovery in deciding the slave question. Disappointment of the South.
12. **Eighteen Hundred and Fifty.**—The darkest year in our history before the Civil War. California knocking for admission—the South threatening to secede and destroy the Union if California is not divided and half made a slave State—the North vowing that Slavery

should encroach no further on free soil. Jackson in his grave and Lincoln unknown. What can be done?

13. Congress meets. Array of talent. The great trio and Seward, Douglas, Davis, Benton, Chase, Corwin. Clay comes to the rescue with his "**Compromise measures of 1850**" or the **Omnibus bill**. Debated ten months—passed piecemeal. Clay's speech. Three historic speeches in March, by Calhoun, Webster and Seward. Webster's defection.
14. **The Soldier-President, Zachary Taylor.**—His position on the slave question—heroic courage—sad death. "Old Whitey."
15. **Millard Fillmore** succeeds—"a Northern man with Southern principles." Webster, Secretary of State. Debates on Omnibus bill continue—passed piecemeal. Two of them of great importance—admission of California, and Fugitive Slave Law.
16. **Fugitive Slave law**—vicious and inhuman. Storm of protest in the North. North overrun with man-hunters—brutal arrests. Examples: William Smith, Gorsuch, Anthony Burns, William and Ellen Crafts.
17. **Uncle Tom's Cabin**, a powerful moulder of public opinion.
18. **Minor Events.** Coming of **Jenny Lind**—of **Kossuth**; his eloquence; his disappointment. **Lopez** and his filibustering expeditions—their meaning. Awful scourge of Yellow Fever in New Orleans, 1853.

Subjects for Class Discussion and Essays.

1. Settlement of the Oregon boundary. 2. The Walker tariff of 1846. 3. Why did the people lose interest in the Mexican War as it progressed? 4. Wilmot Proviso. 5. Why did Van Buren forsake the Democrats in 1848? 6. Was Polk a strong President? Why? 7. What caused the great political disturbance of 1850? 8. Discuss the Fugitive Slave law. 9. In what way was "Uncle Tom's Cabin" a political force?

LECTURE V.

FALL OF THE WHIG PARTY: ITS PLACE IN HISTORY.
ITS TWO GREAT LEADERS.

Brief Review of Political Parties in America.

1. **Whigs and Tories** during the Revolutionary War. These succeeded by **Federalists and Anti-Federalists** soon after the War. Federalists triumph and the Anti-Federalist party falls to pieces—fragments unite under Jefferson's leadership and form the **National Republican** party, afterward the **Democratic** party.
2. Two Federalist Presidents—Washington and John Adams. Party at the height of its power under Adams. Decay and dissolution of the party.
3. Democrats have no opposition under Monroe. Divided into factions in 1824—each claim to be the true Democracy. Old Jefferson party split into two grand divisions in 1828—National Republican under Adams and Democratic under Jackson. Same names used in 1832 when Jackson defeats Clay. Clay's large following—determines to form a new party—calls it **Whig**.

THE WHIG PARTY.

4. Name first used in 1834. Clay the founder and father of the party. It has control of the government within seven years of its birth. Two soldier-Presidents and two accidental Presidents. The Compromise of 1850 a Whig measure. Free California offends the South, and Fugitive Slave law offends the North. Whig party held responsible—divided—strife deep and deadly between the two sections.
5. **Campaign of 1852.**—Efforts for Whig harmony fruitless. The candidates. (1) Webster—rejected by the South. Why? (2) Fillmore, choice of the South. Why? (3) Scott—nomination on fifty-third ballot. Southern protest.

6. **Democratic Convention.**—Cass—once defeated—“old fogey.” Buchanan—not widely popular. Douglas—too young and dashing. Marcy—too recently a faction leader in New York. Forty-eight fruitless ballots. Another “dark horse,” Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. His record in Congress and war. A man of little ability, but without enemies. Whole party rally to his support. Scott loses ground steadily and carries but five States.
7. Whig party tottering to its fall—ere another Presidential campaign the story of its life is history.
8. Of the four great parties that have controlled this government three have given us legislation of permanent value. What the Federal party did. What the Democratic party has done. What the Republican party has done. But the Whigs did nothing great. Party patriotic but unfortunate,—rent by foes without and greater foes within. Its memory preserved from oblivion by the abiding fame of its two illustrious leaders, Clay and Webster.
9. **Henry Clay.**—View of his life. Long career in Congress. Had some great qualities. Our greatest parliamentary leader. Definite party principles—highly patriotic. But not in the very first rank as a statesman—lacked the broad statesmanship of Jefferson, the deep foresight of Hamilton, the intuition of Jackson. His propensity to make blunders. Examples. He caused the death of the great party that he had founded.
10. **Daniel Webster.**—As a statesman he ranks below Clay. Greatest orator America has produced. Unrivaled as a constitutional lawyer. Never a party leader. Never fully trusted by the people. Admired rather than loved. A giant in intellect. Debate with Hayne. Webster’s personal appearance. Aspirations to the Presidency. No shadow of a chance for the nomination. The last part of his life weakened by his

ambition to be President. His last futile effort in 1852. Dies disappointed. He will ever be remembered for his Nationality, his "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable."

11. **Administration of Pierce.**—Pierce's want of ability makes him popular. Powerful hold of the Democrats upon the nation. One year of quiet, then comes the "most momentous legislative act in America before 1861," known as

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.

12. Kansas-Nebraska bill brought about by one man whose "power was so great as to change the course of American History"—Stephen A. Douglas. His consultation with Pierce and Jefferson Davis. Examination of the bill. It repealed the Missouri Compromise. Excitement in the North equaled only by the battle of Lexington and the firing on Fort Sumter. "Others of the North had bowed to the yoke of Slavery, but Douglas was the first of Freedom's children to run to throw open the gates to barbarism."
13. **Stephen A. Douglas.**—His appearance. The greatest parliamentary debater in the nation. His object in bringing up this bill. Great opposition to the bill in the Senate by Seward, Chase, Sumner, Bell, Houston, Fessenden, Fish and Wade. Douglas speaks all night—bill passes in the morning. **Douglas' great mistake**—the people had not been consulted! They are fierce and implacable. Douglas' popularity snuffed out like a candle. Resentment deepened by the
14. **Dred-Scott Decision.**—Roger B. Taney. Public opinion defied. Effect opposite that intended. The people are masters in America. The great people.
15. **Kansas, Bleeding Kansas.**—Kansas-Nebraska bill in operation. Border ruffianism. Civil war in Kansas. Lecompton Constitution. — Topeka Constitution. Douglas redeems himself.

Subjects for Class Discussion and Essays.

1. Political parties during the Revolution. 2. Rise of the National Republicans. 3. Why were the people won away from the Federal party? 4. What principle of government did the Whigs represent as opposed to the Democrats? 5. Why did the Whigs eventually lose and the Democrats win their great measures? 6. What great things have the Democratic and Republican parties done for the country? 7. If either should now disappear would it be an advantage or a disadvantage to the country? 8. In what was Clay greater than Webster? In what less? 9. How did Douglas regard slavery? 10. Were his motives honest in framing the Kansas-Nebraska bill?

LECTURE VI.

THE GREAT POLITICAL DUEL BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH PRECEDING THE CIVIL WAR.

- 1 Condition of the country after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Great unrest of the people. Douglas denounced. The thirty pieces of silver.
2. **Slavery in America After the Missouri Compromise.**
—Little agitation for fifteen years. Benjamin Lundy. William Lloyd Garrison, Lovejoy, John Quincy Adams, Joshua R. Giddings. **Free Soil Party.** Abolitionists. Growing sentiment against slavery in the North. Calhoun's foresight—his mistake. South and North growing apart. Various causes, but one all-absorbing cause, Slavery. Moral consciousness of the North slowly revolted against human bondage. No law, force or persuasion could suppress the conscience of the people.
3. **Political Parties.**—Great confusion in Democratic ranks. Kansas-Nebraska bill a stunning blow. Wonderful vitality of the party. That the Democratic party survived its ten years' experience between 1854 and 1864 is one of the marvels of the century. Whig party no longer in existence. The **American party**—**Know-Nothings.** Origin, aim, secrecy, dissolution.

REPUBLICAN PARTY FOUNDED.

4. Fragments of the Whig party. Know-Nothings and Free-Soil Democrats furnish materials for a new party. Principle—no further extension of slavery. Ripon, Wisconsin—Great meeting in Michigan—Chase and Ohio. Pittsburg Convention, February 22, 1856. Extraordinary growth.
5. **Campaign of 1856.**—Buchanan and Fremont. Character of each—charges against Fremont. Why was not Seward chosen? Excitement of the campaign almost equal to that of 1840. Republican array of authors, preachers, poets. Surprising strength of the Republicans.
6. **John Brown.**—Life and character. Experience in Kansas. Raid on Harper's Ferry. Remarkable coolness of the man. Arrest, trial, execution. He was an honest, misguided fanatic.
7. **Abraham Lincoln.**—His early life. His mother a "natural" daughter of a Virginia planter, his father a shiftless "poor white" of Kentucky. Rail-splitter, story teller, attendant on cock fights and horse races. Studies the Bible, Euclid and Shakespeare. Reads law at 28. One term in Congress. Refused an appointment by President Taylor. His appearance and manner.
8. **Lincoln-Douglas Debates.**—Comparison of the two men. Douglas' re-election to the Senate favored by leading Republicans. Why? Illinois refuses, and produces Lincoln. The joint debate seven times. The fatal question. "I am after larger game."

GREAT CONTEST OF 1860.

9. **Democratic Convention at Charleston.**—The Alabama delegates. Demands of the South. Douglas' position. Fatal split. Adjourned to Baltimore. Richmond. John C. Breckinridge.

10. **Republican Convention at Chicago.**—Candidates—Seward, Chase, Bates, Cameron, Lincoln. Strength and weakness of each. Why Lincoln was chosen.
11. **The Campaign.**—The three positions on slavery in the territories. Democratic (Douglas), Congress must let each territory decide for itself on the slave question. Democratic (Breckinridge), Congress must protect slavery in the territories. Republican, Congress must prohibit slavery from the territories. The election—result. Secession—Disunion—Civil War!

Subjects for Class Discussion and Essays.

1. Why was the slave question dormant from 1820 to 1835?
2. Who agitated the subject during this period?
3. The Free-soil party.
4. What caused the anti-slavery sentiment in the North?
5. Why did the Whig party expire and the Democratic survive?
6. Who were the Know-Nothings?
7. Materials for organizing a new party.
8. Describe the Lincoln-Douglas debates.
9. Was the Civil War a good or a bad thing for the American people?

Then followed the greatest civil war in the history of man, and the result was the final overthrow of slavery in America. How different the condition of the slave power before and after that great conflict. Before the war for years the slavocracy held this country in a grasp so powerful that it seemed nothing could loosen that grasp. It may be compared to winter with its powerful hold upon nature. The storm-king howls and rages, and in his mad fury destroys vegetation, locks the rivers and the streams and the whole land in his frigid grasp, and seems entirely triumphant over nature. But there is a silent, irresistible force that slowly but surely undermines the power of the blustering storm, loosens the mountain streams and changes the barren land to grassy meadows and blooming gardens. So there was an unseen force slowly but surely encroaching upon the slave power of the South. What was the real cause of the downfall of slavery? Was it arms? No, it was not arms. Was it Abraham Lincoln? No, it was not he. Was it the thirteenth amendment? No, it was not that. These were but instruments of a mightier force than they. What caused the downfall of slavery? It was the work of the Nazarene, who first taught the world that all men are brethren, and that the slave is as good as his master. That principle of brotherly love worked like leaven down through the ages till the world came to know it in the spirit of the Great Teacher, and that caused the downfall of slavery in America. The moral consciousness of the nation slowly revolted against human slavery, and nothing could stay its irresistible power. The great American heart throbbed and throbbed and could not be still. Calhoun was right when he said that if the conscience of a majority of the people opposed slavery, slavery must fall; but he was wrong when he believed that human legislation can govern the conscience of the people. The South cried, "Let us alone, slavery is ours, we'll not trouble you; what right have you to interfere with our institution?" The North answered, "What right have you to condemn a man because he is black to perpetual bondage." At last the North, led by that moral principle that could be stifled no longer, rose and said to the South, "That black man is my brother, you've held him in bondage long enough, unbind his hands!" Then the two giants leaped together and grappled in mortal strife. The struggle was long and deadly, but the result—oh! the result—this vast land of ours of which we are so proud is free as well as great—and our freedom is more to be proud of than our greatness.

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